M 243 The cultivation of rice serves less to nourish the native than for trade. He usually sells his harvest immediately after the husking.

T M 247 Peanuts thrive in the region of the Banfumu and among the Bankutshu. They grow best in light soil and are not suitable for land cleared from the great forest. The crop demands a great deal of care and regular upkeep. Fields invaded by weeds yield nothing. The harvest takes place when the crop is mature and is the task of the women with the help of the children. The peanuts are placed in baskets carried on the back and taken to the village. The native spreads them out in the sun to dry. He turns them again and again, two or three times a day, and brings them into the hut at night.

M 249 Sugar-cane plantations are set up in marshy lowlands.

[462] All the work on this crop falls to the men. These plantations are found only in regions where the natives make masanga, sugar-

[273] cane beer. Sugar-cane fields are especially numerous in the villages on the lower Lukenie and the Fimi.

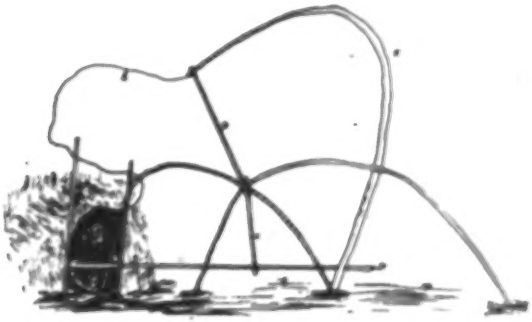
M 244 As a rule the natives also cultivate a few legumes, sweet potatoes, and yams, but on a small scale and without giving them any particular care. [61]

Hunting

M 224 462 Hunting is practiced only by men. They engage in it, not for sport, diversion, or relaxation, but for the sole purpose of procuring meat and fat.

M 224 857 From their earliest childhood, the boys get together to beat the grass and catch mice, rats, and other rodents which swarm in the bush. Nothing is more interesting than to see them at work. Ten, fifteen, or sometimes twenty of them form a large circle. Armed with sticks, they beat the grass and make an unbelievable din. Little by little the circle narrows, moving in on a small well-cleared space. The oldest, most daring and most agile of the boys keep watch over this space, their eyes alert and riveted on the edge of the grass, ready to pounce. The beaters redouble their zeal, strike, shout, gesture, and gradually drive all the rodents

224 857 toward the small clearing. Badgered and frightened, the rats, mice, etc., run madly. Not daring to break through the line of beaters, they are pushed toward the clearing, hesitate an instant before entering it, then bound in. Without moving from their places, the little hunters wait for them and catch them in passing.



A sharp, quick blow and their ribs are smashed in, their skulls broken. Not one escapes; neither their size (some rodents are as big as hares) nor bites nor scratches frighten these tots of three, four, or five years of age.

224 223 857 The children also occupy themselves by capturing birds and small rodents with nets and snares. The latter are made with a flexible stalk for a spring and a cord with a noose. A system of small sticks which automatically trigger the release compels the bird to stick its head into the noose to reach the bait. At this moment, the mechanism is released, and the victim is pulled up by the cord attached to the stalk spring.

224 The natives also set snares of the same sort in front of holes of rodents and other animals or at a place where they habitually pass.

At the village of Madjuku, I had occasion to see the mechanism of a rat snare in action. In front of a hole, two arched sticks [62] intersect. A strong rattan stalk (E) has been stuck into the ground, and two piassava cords (A and B) are tied to its tip. One of the cords ends in a noose, which is placed in front of the entrance to the hole. A small stick (C) is attached to the end of the second cord. One of the ends of this stick passes behind the intersection

●224 of the two arches, and the other one is held in place by a mobile stick (D) placed transversally between the tips of the arches in such a fashion as to bar the mouth of the hole. In leaving or returning, the rodent sticks its head through the noose, and being impeded by the transverse stick (D), it pushes the stick aside with its paws, releasing the trigger stick (C) and the bent branch (E) which snaps up. The rodent is automatically caught in the noose, pulled up, and strangled. This snare is remarkably sensitive, and the rodent who tackles it is invariably caught.

The natives also set up snares for antelope. Being very observant, they quickly discover the place where an antelope passes regularly, as well as the size of the animal. They place a rattan noose at this spot and carefully hide it in the grass and leaves. The animal sticks its head through the noose in passing and is trapped. The more the animal struggles, the tighter the noose is drawn.

The native sets traps for the large flesh-eaters, hyenas, leopards, and large wild cats. [Ed., the text is not translated from the third paragraph, page 62, to the second paragraph, page 64.]

[64] Hunting the elephant and the hippopotamus involves traps, pitfalls, the spear, and the harpoon.

The pitfalls consist of large holes dug along the paths frequented by the pachyderms. These holes are three to four meters long, two meters wide, and four to five meters deep. At the bottom, the native plants wooden stakes whose ends, carved to a point, are hardened by fire. The opening is hidden by a mat of tree branches and roughly plaited creepers, covered with leaves and grass. These traps are a real danger to travelers in the country, and therefore the native is required to indicate their presence by a conventional sign prominently displayed. I first noticed these signposts between the Mosengere villages of Lokila and Gomo Erenge: a strong stake perpendicular to the ground, on top of which the native fastens a hoop and a stick. The latter is fixed obliquely to the ground in the direction of a straight line from the post to the trap. If a native neglects to place the signpost, he [67] loses his right to the game caught in the trap, and he is held responsible for any accidents that might result from his negligence.

●224 Another trap, very often used for the hippopotamus, is made of a heavy iron point suspended above the path frequented by the pachyderms. During the day, they prefer to stay in the water or to sleep on a sand bank. At night, they leave their refuge to graze on the grass of the plain. More often than not the animal leaves quite visible traces of his passage on the bank as he leaves or enters the water. The native places his trap near these places,

[411]

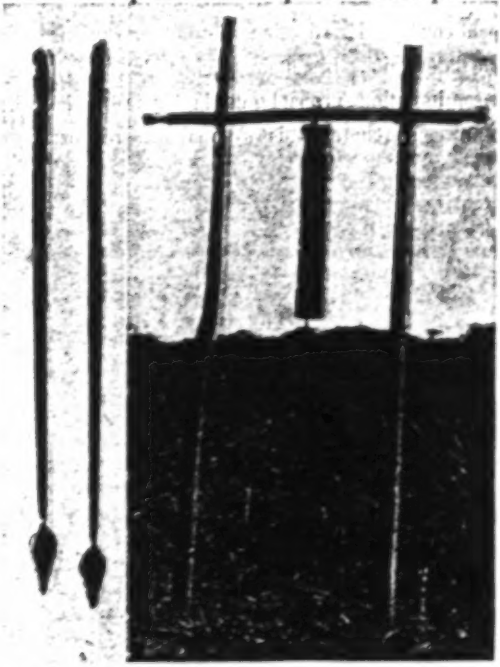


Fig. 40. Hunting Spears and Trap for Large Game, Lake Leopold II.

but avoids putting it at the exact spot where the animal comes out. Experience has shown him that the hippopotamus, being extremely cautious, is alerted by the least [65] alteration of this place and changes to another one immediately.

The iron point is embedded in a large block of wood. The whole apparatus is suspended four or five meters above the ground. A crossbar, one meter above the ground across the track, is held in place by the trigger device which controls the suspension of the

weapon. As he passes, the pachyderm strikes and dislodges the crossbar, springs the trigger, disrupts the suspension, and the spear falls heavily upon him. The trap is arranged in such a way as to hit the animal on the nape of the neck. M 224 ●

The native hunts with bow and arrow as well as with spear. The bow and arrow, however, is more a weapon than a hunting instrument. M 224 411

The peoples in the territory between the Congo and the Kasai, as well as the Baboma of the Fimi have now given up these weapons. A few privileged persons own percussion guns which are usually more dangerous to the hunter than to the hunted. When the native fires a shot, he extends his arms, directs the barrel towards the prey, and turns his head aside. If, through cunning and patience, he gets to within a few meters of the game without arousing its attention, the shot has a chance [66] of success. Ordinarily the animal is more or less gravely wounded, unless the overloaded gun explodes in the hands of the imprudent hunter.

The Bateke, Banfumu, and Baboma store powder in small receptacles made of a simple calabash or cut out of a block of hard wood. The calabashes are sometimes covered with a sheath of serpent or lizard skin to protect the powder more effectively from dampness. The wooden powder flasks are usually pear-shaped, probably to imitate the shape of the calabash. They have a wooden cover that fits very tightly into the body of the object, and the leather strap for hanging it up is attached to two holes cut in the body of the receptacle and drawn through two side openings in the cover. Very often these carved powder flasks are decorated with designs engraved in bas relief, linear motifs arranged in bands. The lines are sometimes curved, sometimes straight, and sometimes also oblique. The bottom of the powder flask is flat so that it may be placed upright [67] on a horizontal surface. The body of the powder flask extends into the straight cylindrical neck onto which the cover is fitted. S T 411 322 S T [53]

The bow with rattan thong is relatively rare. We found it only among the Tumba, Balesa, Bobaie, Batete [Tete], Ipanga, Batitu, and the Pygmies. This bow is made with a rattan stem, its convex section facing out and its flat section facing in. The rattan thong is attached to the two ends after having been drawn through M 411 [77]

411 Yaelima it is sometimes as deep as five centimeters. The bow and arrow of the type we have just described serves both as an offensive and a defensive weapon. Its importance as a weapon must have formerly been greater. In our time wars between [721 tribes have become almost impossible. Attacks and reprisals by 678] individuals, on the other hand, are still rather frequent. This is especially true of the region east of Opombo. Every free Ipanga, Batitu, Bokala, and Yaelima owns a bow and arrows and does not hesitate to use them either to defend himself or to attack.

● 224 Hunting with bow and arrow is done on an individual basis. The game taken in this way belongs wholly to the hunter. [69]

[441] Among the Yaelima we found an arrow with a removable head that is notably larger, wider, and stronger, and that is attached to the shaft by thin cords. The natives use these arrows for hunting antelope and buffalo. When the animal is hit, the arrowhead penetrates its body, and the surprised victim flees into the bush or forest. The shaft of the arrow, buffeted by the tall grass or lianas, gradually works itself loose. The head, attached to the shaft by a cord, remains in the wound. With each motion, the animal enlarges its wound. The shaft, sooner or later, is caught in the lianas or grass, with the result that the head is violently jerked from the wound, making it a mortal one. This very dangerous weapon is not widespread, and for good cause. The native can use it effectively only for a point-blank shot. The range of the bow is limited; the arrow with the removable point is heavy; the iron point is very wide and has small barbs. To succeed in planting this arrow in the body of the animal, it is necessary to creep to within several meters of the game, to string the bow without attracting the animal's attention, and to hit it in the belly. The wounded beast may seek its salvation in wild and fatal running, but it sometimes turns against its attacker. In any case, the hunter who uses these arrows cannot do so without risking great [70] danger. Although the native likes to hunt, he also fears the dangers associated with this occupation. The only ones who use these arrows are the intrepid true hunters who have inherited some of the instinct and audacity of the Batua [Twa]. Inunu, chief of the Batitu of the Oshwe region, who was audacious to the highest possible degree and feared no animal, obstacle, or danger, asserted to me that he and a few other hunters did not hesitate to attack elephants with this weapon.

The native most often uses his spear for hunting big game, 224. or he contents himself with setting traps.

The peoples west of the Ipanga have given up elephant hunting. During our sojourn in the region of the Bobaie, Basakata, and Balesa, the natives came to complain several times about the invasion of their manioc fields by elephants and the damage done by these inopportune visitors each time they came. They never thought of attacking the animals. To chase them away, they

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Fig. 44. Great Yaelima Hunter Showing his Harpoon Arrow.

built fires and made an infernal din, while keeping their distance.

In the region of the Ipanga-Batitu and among the Bokala-Yaelima, elephant hunting is rather frequent. The most daring hunters attack them with spears. This hunting is done on an individual basis. The hunter covers or smears himself with elephant dung. As he draws near, he takes a thousand precautions not to attract the attention of the animal, who is always on the alert. Once within range, he plants his spear into the under belly of the animal and gets away as fast as he can. The wounded beast

224 lunges forward at random until, exhausted by the wild r and loss of blood, it falls for good. The hunter follows the track for two or three days without ever tiring or losing heart. He infers the probabilities of success from the los of blood, the footprints, the length of the paces, and many other signs, and as long as any hope remains he keep up

[141 291]

Fig. 45. Leaving for the Hunt in Yaelima Territory with Spears, Bows, Arrows, and Nets.

the chase. The animal sometimes manages to get rid of the spear. In this case, the hunter returns to the village and recounts his exploit to all who will listen. He does this not to establish a reputation, but to build up a claim against anyone who might find the animal if, by some wild chance, it should succumb to the wounds.

Communal hunting is more common. The natives use large [71] nets, spears, knives, and dogs. The group is divided into beaters, directed by a leader, and those who own nets and act as lookouts.

The first native hunt I had the pleasure to attend took place at Tua among the Banfumu.

S
224 of false bamboo, two or three arrowheads, and a small bow had
778 been stuck in this paste. At the foot of the stake the natives had piled a whole series of antelope and buffalo skulls. These remains alone were vaguely reminiscent of the hunting fetish of the Kasai region.

M
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224 It is possible that this very simple form of the nkisi of the hunt is also the earliest and that it is closest to ancestral custom, since
778 the primitive shelters of the neighboring peoples and the huts characteristic of the Bateke-Banfumu tribes are actually a mere elaboration of the custom followed by the parental branch of these peoples, a custom which called for the skull of the largest animal killed during the hunt to be dedicated to the guardian spirits of the hunt and to be placed at the foot of the physical representation of these spirits.

M
224 In the region of Oshwe and Bumbuli we found no trace of this
778 custom. Each village, however, possessed its hunting fetish. The one in the Yaelima village of Yanga is among the most interesting. A tall shrub stands near a group of four huts located slightly apart from the principal area of the settlement. Two forked stakes, 1.20 meters apart, stand close by, and a straight stick lies on the ground, which may be placed on the forks. A small piece of a calabash hangs by two lianas, one of which is tied to the tree, the other to one of the forked stakes. The calabash contains substances with magic power: a mixture of mpembe and black earth, forming a muddy paste. Before leaving on a communal hunt, each hunter who owns a net must walk by this fetish. The head of one of his arrows or of his spear is dipped in the small calabash, and part of the mud that sticks to it [81] is spread on the nets. Upon returning from the hunt, a piece of flesh from one of the animals killed is hung on the crossbar lying on the two forked stakes. The custom of depositing skulls does not seem to be known in the region.

The hunting fetish of the Bokala in the village of Yoshomo Monene stands in the center of the native settlement. It consists of two forked stakes which may be joined by a crossbar, exactly like the framework of the Yaelima hunting fetish. The tall shrub is replaced by an herbaceous plant with thick leaves. The calabash containing the magic substances lies on the ground between the

1: Maes--60 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Yaelima

224 778 plant and one of the stakes. The customs and ceremonies observed before leaving for the communal hunt are identical to those we have just described.

224 As to the relations between the fetisher, the hunting fetish, and the individual hunter, we will ignore them, having been unable to obtain any information on this subject in these regions.

Throughout the region we visited, large-scale hunting is done communally. As a rule, all the men participate, including young men from the age of 15. [Ed., the text is not translated from the last paragraph, page 81, to the second paragraph, page 83.]

[83] The catch of the communal hunt is shared among all the families in the village, with the chief and the dignitaries having special rights.

224 622 Individual hunting does not entail any distribution, except when a buffalo, leopard, or elephant is involved. [793] The tail of the buffalo goes to the native chief who uses it as a fly-chaser and a badge of rank. [781] The skin of the leopard is reserved for the chief, who makes it into a skirt which he displays ostentatiously at important festivities and public dances. The trunk and tusks of the elephant go to the chief while the bristles go in part to the hunters and [84] in part to the local dignitaries, who use them to make necklaces. [778] [761]

Fig. 51. Yaelima Fetish, Nkisi of the Hunt.

paragraph beginning on page 97 and continued on page 98 is not translated.]

[98] On the whole, we note the following special ethnic characteristics.

1) Uniformity in the cultivation of manioc, the staple food of all of these peoples.

2) Undertaking the cultivation of maize under the influence

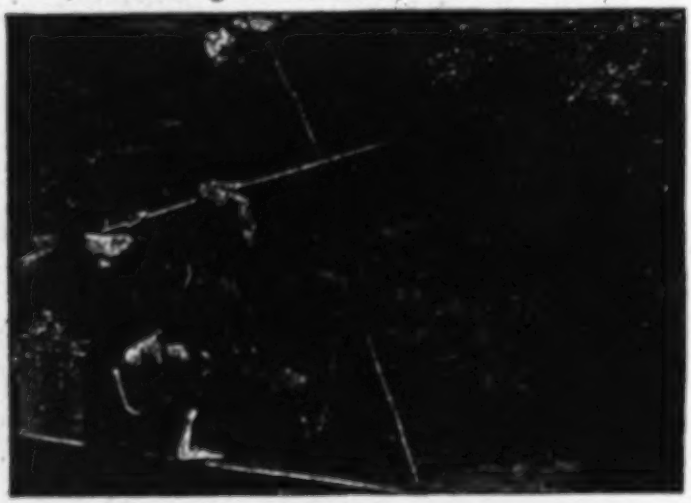

Fig. 58. Weir Fishing at a Dam among the Mosengere. Closing the Screens and Capturing the Trapped Fish.

of the ephemeral encouragement of Bula Matari [Ed., the European administration] among the peoples of the Congo-Kasai, and rice cultivation under Arab influence in the region of Bena Dibele-Kole. Contrary to what we noted concerning maize, the innovation introduced by the Arabs has become firmly implanted in the life of these natives, and the cultivation of rice will probably eliminate manioc eventually.

3) Formation of a zone of sugar-cane cultivation, the development of which is in inverse proportion to the extent of the palm groves.

4) Complete absence of animal husbandry of any importance.

5) Uniformity in the methods of communal hunting and the gradual development of attendant religious customs and practices from east to west, corresponding to a decline in hunting by individuals with traditional weapons. This fact leads us to suppose

224 174 that hunting was practiced as a rule in the ancestral society without special recourse to any protective force or spirit and that primitive man relied wholly on his strength, skill, courage, and necessity. The small yield and the accidents involved in this dangerous sport probably impelled the primitives to go in groups, the first step to communal hunting. In the course of these forays, accidents must have occurred, some men being hurt and others spared. For no apparent cause, one hunt was successful and another failed. Not being able to understand the reason for these occurrence, the natives naturally ascribed their origin to spirits, from which arose the desire to gain the favor of these spirits. One can thus explain the magico-religious beliefs and practices, whose intensity, [99] elaboration, and spread are in direct proportion to the disappearance of individual hunting.

224 174 6) The existence among all the peoples of a few common fishing customs, so little developed unquestionably fish could have played only a minor role in the diet of the ancestral community. This community, therefore, must have lived in an environment ill-suited to the development of a fishing industry or too poor in resources of this kind to invite man's efforts in this direction in his struggle for existence.

7) In their migrations and displacement, certain groups settled in more favorable regions, and the families among them who settled in the immediate vicinity of well-stocked rivers and marshes adopted new fishing customs while partially giving up the hunting customs. [Ed., the remainder of the chapter, through page 100, is not translated.]

000 [101] Chapter 4

Food

Making fire. -- Extraction of salt. -- Preparation of food. -- Manioc. -- Maize. -- Bananas. -- Meat. -- Fish. -- Peppers. -- Extraction of palm oil. -- Beverages. -- Water. -- Malafu. -- Masanga. -- Pombe. -- Stimulants. -- Hemp. -- Kola nuts. -- Tobacco.

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[825]

recollection of an animal of the leopard family which they call bokonga. Their description of it corresponds to the lion. Some soldiers and other expatriates, who were also young people, shown representations of a lion immediately identified it with their bokonga.

The groups under discussion here lived for a time on the banks of the Luwo (Maringa) and the [11] upper Ikelemba, (1) then under

[173]

1. It appears that between the Ikelemba and its tributary the Losilifa, there is still a bonkom tree called w'ãmenga (of bald heads) under which, according to tradition, the ancestors held their councils. Nearby there is a bosãã whose fruits never ripen.

pressure from other Mõngo tribes, they crossed the Tshuapa-Ruki. They evicted the Ekonda and settled in their present location. This exodus must have taken place a fairly long time ago; it is impossible to determine the date and difficult to make any estimates. In any case it must have occurred 150 to 200 years ago.

244 These peoples are primarily farmers; they grow chiefly bananas, manioc, yams, colocasia [taro], sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and various vegetables and condiments. The food crops they grow, together with what they gather and the Elaeis palm trees provide them with a continuous and abundant food supply, as long as elephants do [231] not interfere. Their domestic animals include chickens, goats, and 224 dogs. (2) Hunting is a pleasant change of activity rather than an

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2. Ducks have been introduced fairly recently, but they were known long before colonial times. They came from the south. Sheep have been introduced only in the last few decades, and they are found only in a few villages on the river banks in the lowlands.

224 absolute and inescapable necessity for those tribes who have Batswá, since the latter provide them with a certain amount of the necessary meat, though in insufficient quantity. The people hunt in groups and individually -- in the latter case primarily by means of traps. Fishing with nets is also very widespread, although various other methods are also known. The picking of fruit, caterpillars, mush-
222 rooms, vegetables, etc. continues to be popular.

463 Among trades, that of the smith is foremost. However, iron casting has been abandoned at the present time. Copper is brought in from other peoples by tribes serving as intermediaries. Wood sculpture is rapidly disappearing. Basketry [12] remains popular.
[286] Weaving no longer exists at the present time; in fact, looms can no longer be found in the region.

593x The family is patriarchal and the political organization corresponds to it; there are only heads of families. Indeed, among the Nkundó the family is the complete nucleus and foundation of the society. The result is a democratic and oligarchic government, but one very different from any we would call by that name in Europe.
554 Certain men become prominent because of their intelligence, their eloquence, their bravery, or their wealth, having great influence and often giving the appearance of chiefs whose authority extends beyond their own clan, but none of them has ever founded an empire. In the past the Bongfli were the most courageous tribe, and the one most feared. Besides, their geographic location was in their favor, as they had the Lifumba and the Bombomba, two sister tribes, on each side of them.

[517] The artistic tastes of the Nkundó are directed chiefly toward
538 music and the dance. Their oral literature is also very rich; it includes, for example, the epic of Nsongó and Lianja (1) and that

1. The most important portions of this epic have been translated and published by Father Boelaert, M.S.C., in Congo, 1934, Vol. 1, pp. 49 and 197.

of the tortoise.

583 to leave her husband and he, in revenge, were to lay hands on her
431 mother or on one of the other wives of the clan. (1) [148]

1. See Chapter VI, Article VII, 4, (1), and Chapter VIII, Article II, 1.

7) Lombɛ̆: a wide shoulder strap made of fur or braided
[824] bekombe reeds (Calamus sp.), though valuables of equal worth (one knife or a konga) may be given. Nowadays this boɛ́ngo consists of 2 or 3 rings; it goes to the mother in compensation for the wearying burden of carrying and nursing her daughter. (1)

1. Note that when a mother-in-law brings a child into the world, her son-in-law sends her a shoulder strap of liengɛ́ otterskin or a konga of equivalent value. He does not repeat this gift at each birth, however.

[854] 8) Betɔ̆tswɛ́ bya nkwɛ́: leaves of the bonkongɛ́ bush used to remove, wipe off, and carry away (tɔ̆ta) a child's excrement. This boɛ́ngo consists of a ring and goes to the mother as compensation for her performance of these tasks. In the absence of the mother, it is claimed by another of the father's wives or by a female relative of the mother.

● [224] 9) The bojangɛ́, "hunting net," is demanded in many villages for no special reason. Certain clans, however, scoffed at by others because they have few members, officially ask a man belonging to one of the latter and wishing to marry one of their daughters to bring a net, saying: "You make fun of us because we have no people; bring us a hunting net to surround and enclose us, since we are not many." Thus the village of Boyela of the Bakɛ̆ala, never gives one of its members in marriage without this boɛ́ngo.

[184] 10) Wɛ̆ngɛ́ w'ɛ̆ɛkɛ́: a boɛ́ngo which is not known everywhere but which is customary in certain groups, for example among the Bakɛ̆ala. One of the woman's relatives takes a piece of a young thorny trunk of the wɛ̆ngɛ́ tree. Having scraped one end of it, he holds this

602 brings forth reprimands on the part of the husband and his parents which obviously can easily degenerate into quarrels. If the omissions are so frequent and of such a nature that they can no longer be explained as simply forgetting, a whim, or a fit of peevishness, but [299] are taken to indicate spitefulness or vulgarity, the matter is [627] brought before the ndonga (who is often assisted by the family tribunal) or brought before the authority constituted by the woman's kin. If in spite of everything the expected improvement does not take place, the break-up is inevitable.

606 The husband's father and mother extend the same affection to their son's wife as they feel toward him. They consider her their own child, and it is not unusual to find that their love for the wife equals their feeling for their own son. She is only a relative by marriage, but out of affection for her they call her their child. She, for [604] her part, does not use toward them the term bakanga (or bakiló) but out of filial respect calls them "father" and "mother." Exceptions to this practice may be found, however.

606 224 If the father (and those who fall in the same category such as uncles, elder brothers, etc.) kills a large game animal, he is expected to give his son's (or brother's, etc.) wife a piece of meat, whose size depends on the number of daughters-in-law he has and which consists of one or several chops (bokalako) (1) and the piece at

1. Called lieto among the Bolengé and the tribes of the Losanganya.

the nape of the neck (botombyá).

606 835 Illicit relations between the husband's father and his daughter-in-law would be an unheard of crime. The same would be true with respect to any of the "superior" relatives. (2) The laws regulating

[178] [184] 2. Only the Boangi -- like the Elángá of the Losanganya - allow relations between a brother and the wife of his junior; and they are already beginning to find imitators among their neighbors to the southeast, the Injóló.

595x magic known as yoli. She alone participates in the ceremonies
789 that accompany it; with her husband she eats half of the hen that has been killed for that purpose, and on that night she alone may share his bed. Finally, only with her, to the exclusion of the co-wives, may the husband eat the fish called wengɛ́, and only she may and must burn the leavings. Otherwise the magical practice would turn against its owner.

595x When a piece of game is divided, the bomátsa is entitled
●[224] to the lintúla (the lower portion of the breast), which would go to the man's mother (or his father's or his elder brother's wife) were he a bachelor.

In the bomátsa's absence, her place is taken by her ebísa (see below, Article IV) or by the wife who follows her in seniority. At her death, the same rules govern her succession.

The name bomátsa is probably derived from the root mátsa, "to begin." She is the one who founds the family. Sometimes she is also called ikɔ́kɔ́yɔ̃́njemba, literally "bachelor's love." The Bombwanja say itɔ́kɔ́yɔ̃́njemba (the Ekondà, nkúmukolo).

In addition to the bomátsa, reference is sometimes made to
[344] bomátsa w'îáli, or "bomátsa of the left." The bomátsa in the strict sense of the term is contrasted to the latter as bomátsa w'îlɔ́me ("of the right"). The bomátsa of the left is a polygamist's second
[592] wife. She is given this name because her house is at the left end of the loánjá. She has no special rights or duties, however, unless the actual bomátsa delegates to her the task of looking after her end of the compound. If the harem is large, the husband may set aside
[224] for her a special portion of the game, called itɔ́mbantúta, or nape of the neck. In her absence it goes to the eldest daughter.

Article II. The Favorite

595x All polygamists of any importance have a favorite wife, or
556 nkɔ́ndɛ́. But only the rich and the notables have a true nkɔ́ndɛ́. The minor polygamists, of course, imitate the others (nkɔ́ndɛ́ ɛ̂á wɛ́lí or ɛ̂á itsíɔ́, "without great importance"), but they do so without

595x She does no work in the farm or kitchen. She always has an ebísa to wait on her. If her family has no member they can let her have, she will borrow an ebísa from a distant relative or a friend.

[482] A nkɔ́ndɛ́ does not travel on foot; she is carried in a hammock [582] (hunting net). Her husband accompanies her on foot, however. But this was done only for a true nkɔ́ndɛ́ of a rich man, and the custom is disappearing today.

A favorite may not leave her husband, even to go and see her parents. In the past some men were so jealous of their favorites [514] that they would not allow them to satisfy even their most private needs unless they themselves or some sentinel (usually a Bɔtswá) stood watch. A man could not even go into the vicinity of her hut, which is built just behind the husband's shed. For although the husband is sometimes tolerant of the passions of his other wives, he always shows [152] an intransigeant jealousy [346] in relation to his favorite. He never travels without having her accompany him.

The favorite has the honor of performing small personal serv- [515] ices for her husband; she cuts his hair, helps him in the removal of body hair, scratches his pustules from ringworm or prickly heat, anoints him with oil, paints him with ngɔ́la, and, in a word, performs all the tasks connected with his appearance and hygiene.

595x Out of love for his favorite, her husband can buy her corpse 766 for the price of a slave (in kind or in money). By doing so he obtains the right to have it buried beside his own while those of the other wives must be buried with their native clans. That is why in some regions a husband calls his favorite his ikundaka (from kunda "to bury"). Nevertheless, if her husband dies before she does, his heirs may not trouble themselves about his wishes and no longer require that the favorite be buried in their cemetery. That is what happened to Bongɔ́la of Bongíli, whose husband Ikilinganya of Bongangá (Boéndɛ́) had paid the price of two slaves for this right. When the husband has ●[224] killed large game, the favorite, like the bomátsa, has the right to receive her personal predetermined portion (boando). Her part is the neck or a chop, which in her absence, goes to the sons or their wives. The other wives do not have the same right; each one obtains only an ordinary piece (liondo).

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624 customary manner, with a double clap. They are told by the *nkumu* to repeat the
576 salutation, and having done so may be asked to do it a third time. They are then given a few rods in payment. If the *nkumu* sees some member of his own *ekopo* coming to greet him, he gives him special honour by ordering him to lie flat on his back instead of merely sitting, and at the end he gives him a larger gift of rods than the others receive. In this way the *nkumu* may pay out a great many rods to those who thus render him homage. Ordinarily a man will receive five or six, but one
624 specially honoured may be given as many as twenty. From the beginning the *nkumu*
[556] has to pay heavily for his honours, and only a wealthy man can hope to attain them. For this reason a lawful successor, if not wealthy, may be glad to give up his rights to another more fortunate member of the *ekopo*. Homage having been paid, word is
[302] sent out that the *nkumu* is about to come forth, and crowds begin to gather. A coat of red camwood powder mixed with oil is smeared over the *nkumu*, the brass plates are attached to his *montolo*, and he is attired in all his finery. The crowd outside dances, and when tired sits on the ground to await the rest of the ceremony. Inside,
[533] the *lokombi* begins to play, the *nyemba* to sing, and the Batwa *ntotii* to praise the *nkumu* by uttering an ululating sound. Accompanied by *Nsono*, *Bilepo*, and the *maomi*, the *nkumu* himself begins to dance. The temporary protecting screen round the *ipana* is pulled down, and he is seen by all. After his dance he retires again and the crowd disperses.

When *Nkema Akuke* becomes *nkumu* he changes everything possible so as to
[481] become different from other men. Thus he assumes a different gait, a sort of bow-legged waddle, a different tone of voice, and it seems that under this influence even his facial features undergo a change. Accompanied by his retinue, he visits the various villages where he has friends and relatives in order to greet them. This over, the musicians wish to take their departure and are paid for their services by the *nkumu*.

624 At the conclusion of these ceremonies the *nkumu* with his *ekopo* and the *molembe*
596 negotiate concerning their obligations to one another. If the *nkumu* is the first of his line, he and his *ekopo* are given land to cultivate, while succeeding *nkumu* simply take
621 over the land originally accorded. The *molembe* call their *nkumu* their wife, and they designate themselves husband. They thus reckon the relationship between *molembe* and *ekopo* to be that of husband and wife, and, as in an actual marriage, there must be an interchange of obligations performed in a spirit of harmony. Also, as in marriage a wife may be divorced, so an *nkumu* with his *ekopo* could be sent off to their home and the arrangement terminated. It not infrequently happened that as strangers the *ekopo* fell out with their hosts and if such a disagreement could not be righted they might be refunded the payments with which they had purchased their rights, and sent off home.

224 Among the reciprocal obligations of *molembe* and *ekopo* are included the sharing
624 of certain animals and birds killed in the hunt, among which are the leopard and elephant. All killed, whether male or female, must be divided. Of certain other
621 animals, including the wild pig, antelope, and buffalo, if a female, no portion is given, if a male, the required portion is presented. These reciprocal obligations are limited
596 strictly to the *ekopo* and *molembe*; if others outside of these groups wish to present the *nkumu* with meat to honour him or to curry favour, they may do so, but they are under

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no compulsion. If one of the contracting parties fails to fulfil its pledges in this matter of giving part of the kill, or in anything else, the aggrieved party may call the council together. This consists not only of members of the *molembe* and *ekopo*, but of all elders of the village or villages connected with this particular one. The party judged in the wrong, whether *ekopo* or *molembe*, will be fined, the injured party receiving its share, and both parties will be charged to live together harmoniously and observe their contracts.

The power of the *nkumu* was apparently limited, and did not supersede that of the *momene mokonda*. When trials came up, the aggrieved party might go either to the *momene mokonda* or to the *nkumu*. If it was necessary to call the village elders together about it, both these authorities were present at the hearing. First the young men of the group were allowed to give their verdict, then the old men, after that *momene mokonda* (or the *molomi o ehe*), and finally the *nkumu* was given the privilege of the last word. He would comment on the opinions of each of the judges, criticizing one young man, commending another, and then giving his own verdict, at which the group would assent by saying, ' Even so, grandfather '. The whole group of judges would then fix the fines, a double portion of which went to the *nkumu*.

The actual manual labour which an *nkumu* may do excludes anything endangering life or limb, or requiring agility and speed. He may clear the bush for his gardens: this is a man's work. He may take part in the building of his houses, but may do no high work, and, among the inland groups, it is the work of the Batwa to put the roof on for him. The *nkumu* may also prepare pitfalls for catching game, but cannot engage in any other type of hunting or do any fishing. Digging a grave is prohibited, for, as we shall see, everything pertaining to death must be ignored by the *nkumu*.

Other rules affecting the daily life of the *nkumu* may be roughly divided into three: those affecting his person, those having to do with his food, and social regulations.

One of the great points of observance in the first class of regulations is the importance of the *montolo*. The *nkumu* must on no account be seen during daylight hours with an uncovered head. If he wishes relief from the cumbersome *montolo* he may take it off in the darkness of his house and put on an ordinary hat made of skins, and when night falls he may walk where he will bareheaded if he so desires. The skin hat, known as *louku*, may be made from two animals only, in the case of an *nkumu*, one being the *nkulupa*, a species of antelope with light-coloured hair, and the other the *jyoko*, an animal resembling a beaver. The skin of the *nkulupa* may be used by anyone, but the *jyoko* is reserved for the *nkumu* only with one exception. The skin of the *jyoko* may also be used for the carrying strap for infants known as *nyamba*, which is worn over one shoulder in bandoleer fashion. For the *nkumu* the skin of the *jyoko* is limited to the informal hat, *louku*, and for making into the *lokoto*, a pouch used for carrying small objects and worn like a sporran. As a corollary to the importance of the *montolo* may be noted the importance attached to the head of the *nkumu*, which must never be seen uncovered in daylight.

The Bonginda *nkumu* never wash in the daytime, but may wash at night with hot water. The inland *nkumu* never wash. Even the Bonginda *nkumu* never wash their heads, and no *nkumu* ever cuts his hair. If the *nkumu* becomes too greatly inconvenienced, one of his wives may delouse his head, but only within the privacy of the house, by the light that enters the rear opening.